

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9862

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 MADRID 2992

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: PCE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS

REF: MADRID 2763 (NOTAL); 2908 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY AND COMMENT: THE TONE OF THE PCE'S LEGAL MADRID COMING-OUT IS AN ASTUTE POLITICAL MANEUVER ON THE PART OF CARRILLO, WHO OBVIOUSLY RECOGNIZES THAT HE HAS LITTLE OR NO CREDIBILITY WITH THE VAST MAJORITY OF SPANIARDS NOW, BUT IS EMBARKED ON A LONG-TERM PROGRAM AIMED AT GAINING AND CONSOLIDATING POLITICAL ACCEPTABILITY. HIS CLEVER REASSURANCES CONCERNING THE MONARCHY AND NATIONAL UNITY,
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AND THE PARTY'S ELECTORAL PROGRAM ARE A CLEAR INDICATION OF HOW SLIPPERY AND DIFFICULT A POLITICAL ADVERSARY CARRILLO WILL BE OVER TIME. IN PARTICULAR, THESE PROGRAMMATIC STATEMENTS WHILE THEY LEAVE OPAQUE REAL INTENTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD THAT WOULD HAVE INEVITABLE REPERCUSSIONS REGARDING POLITICAL POLICY, POINT UNMISTAKEABLY TO THE PCE'S INTENTION TO TRY TO OCCUPY SOME OF THE CENTER-LEFT

TERRITORY NOW DISPUTED BY SOCIALISTS, SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND SOME CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, AND THIS MAY WELL MEAN ROUGH GOING OVER THE LONG HAUL FOR THE PSOE, WHICH HAS YET TO DEMONSTRATE THAT IT CAN EFFECTIVELY TURN BACK SUCH A CHALLENGE. END SUMMARY AND COMMENT.

2. FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE CIVIL WAR, THE PCE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MET LEGALLY IN MADRID APRIL 14 AND 15 TO APPROVE THE ELECTORAL PROGRAM AND LISTS SET DOWN BY THE PARTY'S EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN ITS OWN APRIL 13 SESSION. IN A PRE-PLENUM ADDRESS, PCE SECGEN SANTIAGO CARRILLO SET THE PUBLIC TONE FOR WHAT WOULD BE TWO DAYS OF CLOSED-DOOR MEETINGS, AND HE SUMMED UP THE DECISIONS TAKEN IN A CLOSING PRESS CONFERENCE. HIGH-LIGHTS FOLLOW:

3. RESPONSE TO LEGALIZATION CRISIS. WHILE THE GOVT WAS RESPONDING TO THE CRISIS ENGENDERED BY PCE LEGALIZATION BY CONVOKING ELECTIONS (REFTEL), THE PCE ALSO FASHIONED ITS OWN REJOINDER, WHICH CONSISTED OF EXPLICIT REASSURANCES TO THE (NEVER MENTIONED) MILITARY ON PRECISELY THOSE ISSUES OF MAJOR CONCERN TO IT. SPECIFICALLY, CARRILLO:

--TURNED THE PARTY'S BACK ON ITS REPUBLICAN PAST BY STATING THAT THE TRADITIONAL BOURBON NATIONAL RED AND GOLD FLAG WOULD HENCEFORTH BE DISPLAYED ALONG WITH THE PCE FLAG AT ALL OFFICIAL PARTY FUNCTIONS AND HE VOWED PCE SUPPORT FOR THE MONARCHY "IF IT CONTINUES TO WORK EFFECTIVELY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DEMOCRACY." THE CHANGES IN THE SPANISH POLITICAL SITUATION, CARRILLO SAID, AND THE GOVT'S INCLUSION OF THE PCE AS A FULL LEGAL PARTICIPANT IN NATIONAL LIFE HAD CAUSED THE PARTY TO "RECONSIDER ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE STATE WHICH HAD RECOGNIZED IT;" --EMPHASIZED THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO NATIONAL UNITY ("SPAIN IS A HISTORICAL REALITY THAT WE ALWAYS HAVE DEFENDED AND, WHILE MAINTAINING OUR SUPPORT FOR ITS DIVERSITY, WE WILL REMAIN ENERGETIC DEFENDERS OF THE UNITY OF OUR COMMON FATHERLAND"); AND --REITERATED THAT THE PARTY'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND INTENTION TO ACCEPT THE VERDICT OF ELECTIONS, WHATEVER IT MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE.

4. NOBODY HERE BUT US DEMOCRATS. WHILE REFUSING TO RENOUNCE ANY OF THE PARTY'S "FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVES," CARRILLO JUSTIFIED HIS POLICY OF MODERATION AS APPROPRIATE TO THE TRANSITION FROM DICTATORSHIP TO DEMOCRACY AND POINTED TO THE PARTY'S RECENT

LEGALIZATION AS ONE OF THE FRUITS OF THIS "POLICY OF NATIONAL RECONCILIATION." HE LASHED OUT AT FRAGA'S ALIANZA POPULAR AS "THE MOST SERIOUS THREAT" TO SPANISH DEMOCRACY, LIKENED FRAGA TO PINOCHET, AND STATED THAT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL GOALS OF "DEMOCRATIC" FORCES IN THE COMING ELECTIONS MUST BE TO MINIMIZE THE VOTER APPEAL OF THE ALIANZA. RESPONDING TO PSOE CRITICISMS OF THE PCE'S LACK OF INTERNAL DEMOCRACY, CARRILLO CLAIMED THAT THE TWO PARTIES' INTERNAL STRUCTURES AND PRACTICES WERE FUNDAMENTALLY THE SAME (WHICH BROUGHT A SWIFT AND ACCURATE PUBLIC REJOINDER FROM A PSOE SPOKESMAN).

5. ELECTORAL OBJECTIVES. CARRILLO REITERATED THAT THE PCE WOULD RUN ITS OWN LABELED SLATE OF CANDIDATES FOR THE LOWER HOUSE (LISTS BEING POUCHES) WHILE SEEKING A BROAD ALLIANCE WITH OTHER LEFT AND CENTER GROUPS IN THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SENATE CONTEST. (MAJOR CENTER PARTIES SUPPORT A BROAD COALITION FOR THE SENATE, BUT SOME (E.G., PARTIDO POPULAR) ARE RELUCTANT TO INCLUDE THE SOCIALISTS, WHILE OTHERS (E.G., THE CD "TEAM") ENVISION THE SOCIALISTS AS THE LIMIT OF SUCH AN ALLIANCE.) CARRILLO LISTED THE PARTY'S GOALS AS THE "RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TRUE IMAGE OF THE PCE, DESTROYING THE DISTORTED CARICATURE PURVEYED BY 40 YEARS OF FRANCOIST PROPAGANDA; "WINNING A MAXIMUM NUMBER OF SEATS IN THE LOWER HOUSE: GUARANTEEING THAT THE SENATE WOULD BE "DEMOCRATIC;" AND STRENGTHENING PARTY ORGANIZATION.

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6. ELECTORAL PROGRAM HIGHLIGHTS. ACCORDING TO SPANISH
PRESS SUMMARIES OF THE PCE'S ELECTORAL PROGRAM, ITS
PRINCIPAL POINTS ARE:
--THE "DEMOCRATIC VOTE:" THE PCE'S FIRST OBJECTIVE
IS TO "END THE INSECURITY AND FEAR ON THE PART OF
SPANIARDS TO VOTE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THEIR OPINION;
TO CONVINCE THEM THAT BY VOTING FOR DEMOCRACY THEY ARE
GUARANTEEING STABILITY AND TRANQUILITY FOR THE FUTURE."
THE PCE WILL DEMONSTRATE THAT IT HAS DEFENDED LIBERTY
RESOLUTELY AND THAT IT SHOULD, CONSEQUENTLY, RECEIVE
THAT "DEMOCRATIC VOTE." (THE PARTY'S ELECTORAL LOGAN
WILL BE: "TO VOTE COMMUNIST IS TO VOTE FOR DEMOCRACY.")
--THE "CONSTITUTIONAL PARTY:" THE CONSTITUTION
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PARLIAMENT SHOULD ELABORATE A DOCUMENT THAT GUARANTEES:
DEMOCRACY FOR ALL; THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENT AND THE
INDEPENDENCE OF THE JUDICIARY; HUMAN RIGHTS; POLITICAL
LABOR, PRESS, CULTURAL, AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY; EQUAL
RIGHTS FOR WOMEN; 18-YEAR-OLD VOTING AGE; AUTONOMY FOR
THE NATIONALITIES, PEOPLES AND REGIONS WHICH MAKE UP THE
STATE, DEMOCRATIZATION OF MUNICIPAL LIFE; SEPARATION OF
CHURCH AND STATE; THE POSSIBILITY OF TRANSFORMING THE
ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STRUCTURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE
EXPRESSED WILL OF THE PEOPLE; THE RENUNCIATION OF WAR
AS AN INSTRUMENT OF INTERNATIONAL POLICY AND THE
AFFIRMATION OF A POLICY OF PEACE, INDEPENDENCE, CO-
OPERATION AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF
OTHER COUNTRIES.
--THE ECONOMY: THE WORKERS SHOULD OCCUPY THE
PLACE IN THE ORGANS OF POLITICAL POWER "WHICH
CORRESPONDS TO THEM."
--FISCAL REFORM: "DEMOCRATIC CONTROL" OF THE
UTILIZATION OF THE RESOURCES OF THE PRIVATE BANKS;

"DEMOCRATIZATION" OF OTHER INSTITUTIONS, SUCH AS
THE SPANISH STATE HOLDING COMPANY (INI); FAIR PRICES
FOR THE FARMER; DEFENSE AND SUPPORT FOR THE SMALL
AND MEDIUM SCALE PROPRIETOR; AGRARIAN REFORM WITH
COMPENSATION; DEVELOPMENT OF FIGHTING INDUSTRY.
--CULTURE AND HEALTH; FREEDOM OF ARTISTIC EX-
PRESSION AND ABOLITION OF CENSORSHIP; CREATION OF
A MINISTRY OF HEALTH.
--FAMILY: DEFENSE OF THE RIGHTS OF THE FAMILY
ON THE BASIS OF JURIDICAL EQUALITY FOR BOTH PARTIES;
CIVIL DIVORCE; VOLUNTARY FAMILY PLANNING.
--ARMED FORCES: MILITARY MODERNIZATION AND
DEVELOPMENT OF TECHNOLOGY OF A DOMESTIC ARMS INDUSTRY:
"ADEQUATE REMUNERATION" FOR MILITARY PERSONNEL;
"DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC ORDER POLICY."

7. REFERENCES TO THE US. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION,
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CARRILLO REPORTEDLY ATTRIBUTED THE FAILURE OF THE
OPPOSITION TO ARRIVE AT A "DEMOCRATIC ELECTORAL
FRONT" TO THE "WEIGHT OF THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP"
WHICH PREVENTED THOSE SPANISH PARTIES (READ PARTICU-
LARLY THE PSOE AND THE CD "TEAM") LINKED TO OTHER
WEST EUROPEAN PARTIES OF A SIMILAR IDEOLOGY FROM
ALLYING WITH THE PCE. LATER, HE ALSO REPORTEDLY
STATED THAT THE "FAVORABLE" CHANGE IN THE USG'S
ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PCE WOULD NOT INFLUENCE THE
ELECTION RESULTS, BUT IT WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO A CLAR-
IFICATION OF THE POLITICAL PANORAMA AND TO THE TRAN-
QUILITY OF SPAIN. STABLER

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